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The Under-developed countries

PEACE NEWS

The International Pacifist Weekly

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Z-OBJECTORS AT TRIBUNAL

Ex-captain will not fight again

"KILLING CAN NEVER SETTLE ANYTHING"

AT the Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors at Fulham last week, the first cases of Z-reservists called for training this year were heard.

Of 16 men who appeared, 13 were recommended for exemption. A number of them had appeared before tribunals last year and failed to gain exemption, some being fined or imprisoned when they did not report for training.

Gerald Lester, of London, S.W.5, an ex-captain in the Royal Artillery, who was landed in France from a glider on D-day, was seriously wounded, and afterwards received the MC, told the Tribunal that he now thought killing was fundamentally evil. It could only bring confusion and never settle anything.

"The last war settled whether we rule ourselves from Westminster or whether we are ruled from Berlin," said the chairman, Judge Hargreaves.

"May I say then that it does not bring peace," said Lester.

He said that the idea of settling international disputes by force was on a par with going into marriage with the intention that if your wife did not agree with you, you would beat her. Real peace could never be achieved on that basis.

Served in Burma

P. R. Querinci, of Maida Vale, W.9, who had been a gunner in the Royal Artillery and served for six months in Burma, said that his objection had developed gradually during his war service. The final stage was reached with the dropping of the atom bomb.

He was not an absolute pacifist, in so far as he would think it right to intervene if he saw another individual attacked, even if it meant shedding blood, but he did not think that an attack by one nation on another gave people the right to kill and maim third parties.

Both these applicants were recommended for exemption.

William A. Edwards, of East Dulwich, said that he had been conscripted in 1947 and served in the Royal Engineers until 1949. Since then he had become a member of the Socialist Party of Great Britain. "As a Socialist," he said, "I hold that war cannot solve the problems of the world, and that Socialism is the only answer to these problems."

In answer to a question as to whether he would take part in a war in defence of Socialism against capitalism, Edwards said, "No, sir, I would not fight under any circumstances."

After hearing evidence from Mr. Tony Turner, of the SPGB, the chairman said, "On the whole we think that this applicant has views about warfare as well as about Socialism, and can be recommended for exemption."

"If Government had peace policy . . ."

Thomas F. Gibbs, of Teddington, who had been a sapper in the Royal Engineers, said in his statement, "I feel myself in complete opposition to the policies now pursued by the Government.

"I feel that this vast expenditure on arms for the purpose of preventive war, conscripting the youth of the country, sending these young lads to Korea, granting military bases in this country to the Americans, rearming Germany and Japan, are policies to which the vast majority of people are opposed. . . .

"But if the Government pursued a policy of peace by a peace pact, with co-operation with all nations, I would then be only too willing to undertake military training with the same degree of responsibility as before."

After some questioning, the applicant was told, "The fact that people hold a view that at the present time military training is not a good thing is not a ground on which we can grant exemption."

(Continued on page eight)

BRIDGE — OR BATTLEFIELD?

Britain's true destiny

By VERA BRITTAIN

THE question to be considered tonight by the speakers at Central Hall, Westminster, is vital to this country and its problematical future. It is also an unavoidable question now that Britain is no longer a Great Power—one of the facts of this "terrible twentieth century" which too many ostrich-like citizens are unwilling to face.

Only 50 years ago we ruled unchallenged to the verge of the seven seas; we exercised dominion over palm and pine whether the palm-growers and pine-dwellers liked it or not. But two Great Wars, starting in Europe and arising from the power politics which Mr. Nehru defined at Sevagram as a "luxury" that Asia could not afford, has changed this situation.

To pay for the destructive extravagance of armaments, we sold our overseas investments; the merchant ships which had been our lifeline were extensively sunk at sea. Our foreign markets vanished; from countries to which we once lent we were compelled to borrow.

The end of the Second War found us a weak third power, flanked by two mutually antagonistic Titans, the USA and USSR.

Ever since 1945, Britons have been trying, first, to realise their changed position; and secondly, to decide what to do about it.

Shall they seek to re-discover the old fantastic routes to power and glory? Shall they cling, obliging though despised auxiliaries, to the coat-tails of one or the other national giant, and inevitably make their country a battlefield if the cold war so clamorously waged on a dozen political fronts ever turns hot? Or does our past suggest some third and attainable alternative which will avoid disaster or at least render it less probable.

What history shows

If we look back far enough, our history shows us just such a solution.

In the days of the first Elizabeth and her Stuart successors, England's position was closer to ours today than to the complacent 18th century or the imperialistic 19th, which believed in continuous progress and British domination. A small half-civilised country on the edge of a Continent ruled by self-styled "enlightened" despots, England counterbalanced her political weakness by new forms of mental and spiritual development.

Thanks to the genius of the Elizabethans, and the courageous struggle of the 17th-century Nonconformists against absolute monarchy in league with a totalitarian Church, this island became the moral leader of Europe. Through their religious and political conflict, our ancestors made their country both architect and symbol of spiritual emancipation and Western democracy.

Today we are still the same people; why should we fear to play a part equally great?

There is a British way of life which is neither American nor Russian; there are paths to spiritual glory which need not carry mankind over blood-stained fields of battle.

Britain's most reliable armour is her national Christian tradition, strong in the strength of those qualities which function neither by power nor by might. Her true destiny is to find and to tread the road of reconciliation, and to save not only herself but her great neighbours from the colossal insanity of war.

INSIDE

Articles bearing on the problem of world poverty by

HAROLD WILSON, M.P.

JAMES GRIFFITHS, M.P.

LESLIE HALE, M.P.

★

WILFRED WELLOCK

FRANCIS RONA, M.Sc. (Econ)

HAROLD BING, M.A. F.R.Hist.S.

FRANK DAWTRY

★

A biographical article on Lord Boyd Orr by

ROBERT GREACEN

A Challenge to the Daily Herald

IS BRITAIN PREPARING FOR GERM WARFARE?

By Emrys Hughes, M.P.

THERE appears to a great deal of press indignation because of the Russian allegation that the Americans have been using what has come to be known as the "bacteriological weapon" in Korea.

The Daily Herald on Monday had a three column headline:

MOSCOW WHIPS UP LIE CAMPAIGN ON GERM WAR.

One would gather from this that the Herald is shocked at the very suggestion that the Americans would descend to use such horrible methods of warfare.

But isn't the Daily Herald protesting rather too much?

Is the Daily Herald completely and utterly opposed to the use of bacteria in war?

Does the Daily Herald not know that the British Government is very definitely interested in the possible use of bacteria as a method of warfare?

Surely the Daily Herald editor knows what is going on in Parliament and surely somebody on his staff reads Hansard!

Questions in Parliament

On March 12 the following questions appeared in Hansard:

Mr. Emrys Hughes: What has been the expenditure up to date on research into bacteriological warfare?

Mr. Birch (Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Defence): It would not be in the public interest to give this information.

Mr. Hughes: Is the hon. Gentleman aware that I have in my hand a cutting from the reliable French paper, "Le Monde," in which it says that we have a Dr. David Henderson carrying out experiments for the preparation of bacteriological warfare at Porton, and that he is co-operationg with scientists in Detrick, Maryland, USA?

Is it not a fact that we are preparing this vile form of warfare which can only be to destroy humanity?

Mr. Birch: The hon Gentleman asked a Question on this matter on 9th June, 1948. The then Socialist Minister of Defence answered:

"The possibility that bacteria may be used in a future war is not being overlooked. Researches are being conducted so that we may be ready to meet any situation which may arise."—(Official Report June 9, 1948; Vol. 451, c. 2165.)

I have nothing to add to that answer.

Mr. Hughes: Does the hon. Gentleman argue that bacteria are a deterrent as well as atom bombs?

Why this boycott?

From the answers given by the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Defence it is quite clear that we are experimenting with bacteria.

I did not ask any details. I merely asked the total expenditure up to date.

And the answer was that it would not be in the public interest to give this information.

Why not?

If the British Government was simply not interested in the development of bacteriological warfare the answer would have been a simple "None, Sir!"

Well how much space did the Daily Herald give to this question and answer?

None, sirs.

Here is an allegation that a scientist employed by the British Government is carrying on some kind of research on the possible use of bacteria in war here in Britain.

Does the Daily Herald ask that this shall be investigated by the International Red Cross?

Any indignant headlines or leading articles? None, sirs. A conspiracy of silence.

It is not in the public interest that the British public should know how much money is being spent on this research.

But if the Daily Herald is so disgusted and so horrified it might be pertinent to ask some further questions?

(Continued on page eight)

GANDHI'S SON PREPARES FOR RACE STRUGGLE IN AFRICA

The following press statement was issued from his home in Natal, South Africa, on March 6 by Manilal Gandhi, son of Mahatma Gandhi.

EVER since the African National Congress came to the decision to launch a mass campaign against the various unjust laws affecting the African people, and to hold mass meetings and demonstrations on April 6, as a prelude to their proposed campaign, my mind has been greatly perturbed.

I have no misgivings as to the justification of their proposed action. What has been troubling me is as to what my own part in it should be. That I should play a part in it I have not the slightest doubt in my mind. The question before me is in what way I can best do so.

I hold the firm conviction that if civilisation is to survive and mankind is not to revert to barbarism, mankind as a whole must eschew all forms of the violent warfare that is in vogue today and which brands us as barbarians and that non-violence, which is the only civilised weapon, must be adopted to settle all national and international disputes.

In so far as the African people in particular and the non-Europeans in general are concerned it is beyond a shadow of doubt that not only from the ethical point of view but even from the point of view of expediency the weapon of non-violence is the only one that can take them to the desired goal.

As in the case of military weapons so in the case of the weapon of non-violence one must know how to use it and must be fully qualified to do so.

It is not a thing to be trifled with. It has a code of discipline far more severe than is required in military warfare and must be as strictly observed.

It is highly essential both to know the

(Continued on page eight)

To-night!

CENTRAL HALL, WESTMINSTER Friday, Mar. 21 at 7.30 pm

Britain — Bridge or Battlefield?

Dr. DONALD SOPER EMRYS HUGHES, MP

Dr. ALEX COMFORT STUART MORRIS

Dr. J. B. HUGENHOLTZ

Chairman: **SYBIL MORRISON**

Buffet and Bookstall from 6.30 pm Admission free.

THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION

PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4
STAmford Hill 2262 (three lines)

21st March 1952

MORE DEATH OR MORE LIFE?

THE Peace Pledge Union meeting at Central Hall, with its challenge, "Bridge or Battlefield?", is an effort to induce the London public to contemplate the problem before the world today in terms of present realities.

Those who hold that the best way to achieve security is to pile up arms to the limit of our economic resources too easily take it for granted that they, and not the pacifists, are the realists. This is despite the fact that no nation has ever amassed great arms and then reversed the process before those arms were used in war.

"Realists" of this type think that the accumulation of power by their own nation and the engendering of the fear that such power inspires in other peoples is the best means of maintaining what they call peace.

Apart from the elementary consideration that it is impossible for two sides in a threatening situation each to avert the threat it perceives by having dominating strength, great armed power fosters a logic of its own.

The possession of great strength does not create a desire for war (except sometimes in those who may have the craftsman's wish to test the effectiveness of his creation). It does nevertheless encourage a sense in the armed nation that its policies ought to be accepted because of its forbearing use of its great power, and a disposition therefore to push disputes to a point where the fears of those who feel themselves threatened by the power that confronts them may precipitate them into war.

This blindness to past lessons, however, is even less remarkable than the refusal to perceive that since 80,000 people were destroyed at Hiroshima by a single act of war, in the infancy of the atom bomb, the possibility of a nation sheltering its population behind its armed defences does not exist.

★

A glance at a map will show that if ever Great Britain is involved in a war in which the dominant antagonists are the USSR and the USA this island must become a crucial point for the operations of the one side, and a primary target for the other.

Those who reject the pacifist view therefore, on the ground that it lacks realism, are simply making a choice between two methods by which the destruction of the British people may be achieved.

The pacifist does not claim that his policy offers security.

What he does claim is that it presents a less certain prospect of destruction than does the policy of the traditional militarist, and that it has the advantage of repudiating methods that can only be used at the price of the abandonment of one's own humanity.

People who will consent to the use of the atom bomb in their name, now that they have learned what happens when it is used, are less men than they were before they gave their consent.

If a nation has to be destroyed it is better that it should go down having retained its human character than having surrendered it.

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There is, however, no such certainty that a nation will go down if it unconditionally renounces war.

It is true that there is a greater ruthlessness among men and a greater disregard for humane considerations today than there was in the early years of this century when pacifist policy first made its claim.

There may therefore be a greater readiness than there once was to attack defenceless people. Even on this assumption, however, an unarmed non-violent resistance, if a people were ready to face the discipline and demands on courage that it requires, would be more effective, as well as infinitely less costly and destructive, than resistance by arms; and it would provide nobody with the excuse that it was a threat.

This, however, is on the most sombre assessment of the possible consequences of the renunciation of armed preparation for war. A nation that took this step would release great resources for purposes of good. It would have the means of helping to bring many material benefits to the world. It is not impossible that it might make friends where arms inspire fear and create enemies.

This issue of Peace News is largely devoted to a description of one of the positive ways in which such a policy might be pursued.

A united Germany

ONCE more the USSR has taken the initiative by urging on the Western occupying powers the need for a peace treaty with Germany.

Their previous approach was made on Nov. 3, 1950, after a meeting of the Cominform Foreign Ministers, at which suggestions were made for a peace settlement, described by Acheson as "effrontery."

After a lapse of seven weeks, the Western powers suggested that the Deputies should draw up an agenda, and when they subsequently stated that an agenda limited to Germany would be inadequate and unreal, and insisted that other questions of East-West tension should be included, the Soviet Government concurred.

On March 1, 1951, the Deputies began a series of meetings to draw up an agenda "to cover existing causes of tension, the level of armaments and matters relating to Germany and Austria."

The attempt finally failed, largely because although the Western powers had insisted on widening the agenda to cover all causes of tension, they refused to allow NATO and American bases to be included.

Lessons from failure

It was difficult to avoid the conclusion that Britain and America did not want an agreement which would wreck their plan for Western defence.

The same danger confronts the new proposals which represent at least one major concession by the USSR.

They have previously stood on the Potsdam Agreement, rejecting any suggestion of German rearmament and planning for German unarmed neutrality. While insisting that Germany should be neutral and forbidden to enter any coalition, they now suggest her armed neutrality with all provisions for the establishment and maintenance of a German defence force.

The proposals would also guarantee full democratic rights for all individuals and parties in Germany, and promise early admission of the united Germany to UN.

Though Adenauer has said that the proposals represent "a certain progress,' he is trying to make German elections the central issue. That is obviously a vital question, but it is not sufficient to say that the test of Soviet sincerity will be the readiness of the East German Government to admit the UN Commission on German elections.

East Germany contends that the question of the supervision of German elections is not one for the UN, but for the occupying powers. Proposals for all-German elections should, therefore, be referred to the Foreign Ministers along with other matters relevant to the Peace Treaty.

W. Germany's first objective

It is disturbing to find the diplomatic correspondent of the Times stating that Adenauer

> "must not be shaken from the policy that the entry of Western Germany into a Western system of defence must be their first objective, rather than German unity."

That is Anglo-American policy, not German.

The fear of Communism makes the Western powers bent on building up NATO at all costs. With France in no position to provide its quota of men and money, America realises that a large German contribution is essential.

With the German elections only 18 months ahead and the doubt whether Adenauer's policy will be endorsed then, America realises the need of settling matters her way as soon as possible.

No such German contribution could be forthcoming from an united Germany based on the present proposals. It should be remarked that in a later leading article, The Times expresses a different view from that of its diplomatic correspondent.

Disarmament not rearmament

If the Disarmament Commission is to succeed, plans must be directed towards disarmament and not increased armaments, so that to press for a German army is doubly disastrous.

While the Soviet Union has reversed its attitude in one direction, the Labour Party seems to be about to reverse in the opposite direction.

At the conference of London Co-operators on March 16, Hugh Dalton admitted that the Labour Cabinet had only "cautiously" acquiesced in German rearmament "under pressure from the USA" and under conditions not subsequently fulfilled.

We hope that the Labour Party will now vigorously oppose German rearmament of any kind and insist on the new proposals being used as a basis of negotiation within which both sides should withdraw their proposals for rearming Germany.

Pacifists will not change their opposition to German rearmament because the Soviet Union are prepared to accept it under their conditions.

A last chance

This may well be the last approach which Russia will make.

In any case, if a West German army is preferred to German unity, the possibility of a united Germany will be indefinitely postponed, the tension between East and West increased and the cause of peace in Europe further jeopardised.

If it is suggested that Russia "will pay any price to stop Western unity," are Britain and America determined to insist on their Western defence plan at the price of jeopardising peace in Europe?

A German peace treaty might well end the cold war.

BEHIND THE NEWS

New use for Africa

ON his return from the London conference at the end of February, the Federal German Chancellor, Dr. Adenauer, stated in Bonn that the Federal Republic was neither able nor willing to manufacture atomic and bacteriological weapons or guided missiles.

"Apart from these, war industries must of course be evacuated to localities where they will be least vulnerable."

Shortly afterwards the Federal Foreign Secretary, Dr. Hallstein, said in a broadcast speech:

> "As far as a certain category of weapons are concerned, we shall have to regard some districts as too exposed and therefore unsuitable for their manufacture. These weapons are of a kind which we in particular have no intention of manufacturing within the Federal Republic."

In connection with these two statements, the Bonn correspondent of "Das Andere Deutschland" reports from Bonn that it is now being admitted there that Herr Blank's Ministry of Security, in spite of earlier denials, has long since been busy exploring the possibilities for evacuating German war industries to North Africa, and that a member of the Federal Parliament, Dr. Semler, has recently made several trips to North Africa on a special mission.

The correspondent writes further that a report from London indicated that Dr. Adenauer had agreed to the evacuation of German war industries and that this commitment was contained in one of the many secret clauses of the draft agreement between the Western Powers and the Federal Republic which is being discussed at present.

Taft on the USSR

IN the face of this indecent haste to get Germany's more valuable means of contributing to Western "defence" out of harm's way, it is perhaps interesting to note that Senator Taft said in a recent interview with a representative of the German Press Agency:

> *"I personally have never been of the opinion that the Soviet Union is interested in military aggression. I do not believe that Russia would want to risk the entire existence of Communism and her power in a single war. They hope to conquer the world by gradual infiltration, and they are convinced that capitalism will destroy itself in the foreseeable future."*

If the German people wish to retain their industries and to turn them to peaceful work, they would appear to have reason to hope for the election of Senator Taft as President of the United States!

The Napalm horror

THE Manchester Guardian recently referred to a village in Korea at which the Chinese army arrived and upon which it billeted itself.

Next day the village was attacked with napalm bombs, which means of course that not only Chinese soldiers were attacked but also men women and children of the people whom those who were using these bombs were in the country to save.

"Justifiably or unjustifiably?" the Manchester Guardian asks, and proceeds, "Without knowing many more facts one cannot tell."

The fact that a journal of the honourable tradition of the Manchester Guardian burkes a direct pronouncement on such a subject is a measure of men's descent in the present age below decent standards of morality.

The character of present-day war is producing a foulness of outlook in the best of us.

We do not make this comment in any particular condemnation of the Manchester Guardian.

The article we speak of discloses a troubled mind about the use of this fiendish weapon, and refers to the hideous example of its effect on a man, unfortunate enough not to be killed outright by its action, who was "sightless, and unable to sit or lie," an atrocity reminiscent of the thing the Americans did—with British approval, it should of course be said—at Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

In the same issue of the Manchester Guardian, Percy Redfern, a Peace News contributor, asked:

> "If for some brief and deceptive military advantage the Government will sanction such means as have been used in Korea, the question will arise of what there is that it will not do?"

This is very true.

When the Chinese accuse the United States army of resorting to bacteriological warfare and dropping germ-carrying insects we are inclined, like the American generals, to shrug our shoulders and brush the matter aside as being too absurd to be argued.

But why should it be so?

Those who have used napalm in the way the Americans have done are not likely to shudder away from germ warfare because of its inhumanity and lack of discrimination.

Is it still the Guardian?

WE should like to add our word to an appeal made by Alexander C. Wilson to the Manchester Guardian.

He points out that when Campbell-Bannerman 51 years ago denounced the burning of farms in South Africa as "methods of barbarism," C. P. Scott in the Manchester Guardian vigorously supported him.

A. C. Wilson asks "Now that 'four square miles in Korea have had jellied petrol spread over them' will you not condemn such 'methods of barbarism?'"

This decline in a great newspaper's reaction to destructive inhumanity is just a measure of the general degradation in values.

Japanese at Hiroshima and Nagasaki and Koreans in their villages have been reduced to sub-human chunks of agony. The South Africans of half a century ago only had their farms burned. Lucky South Africans!

It is not our business to comment on the obvious trend to the "right" in politics that has occurred in the Guardian in recent years. It can be just as great a journal as a Conservative, as it has been as a Liberal, newspaper.

This cannot be so, however, if it has lost the sense of moral repulsion at inhumanity that once used to actuate it.

We hope that this is not a side of the Manchester Guardian that we are to lose completely.

The end of the Remer trial

LAST week we referred to the Brunswick trial of ex-General Remer, during which a war-time meeting between the Bishop of Chichester and the German Resistance leaders was disclosed by the evidence.

The trial ended on March 15 with a sentence of three months' imprisonment against Remer for slandering the anti-Nazis who took part in the bomb plot against Hitler in 1944.

Germany makes a legal distinction between treason against the constitution and treason against the nation. Remer based his defence on the allegation that the Resistance leaders were guilty of the second kind, even to the extent of taking enemy money.

The verdict is therefore of great significance for Germany's future, because a German High Court has formally ruled for the first time, that provided its motives were patriotic, conspiracy against Hitler did not represent "treason against the nation."

Immense interest has been aroused by this trial throughout the German Press, for the legitimacy of the Hitler regime and, conversely, of the present State were alike in question, as well as the honour of many post-war politicians and officials.

Credit for the repudiation of Hitlerism rests largely with the State prosecutor, Dr. Fritz Bauer, who argued that the Resistance leaders had been moved by an honest desire to save their country from disaster.

COST OF LIVING

SOME COs have responded to the suggestion made in this Peace Pledge Union appeal a fortnight ago. We are glad to be in contact with them again and very much hope that others from the missing thousands will write to us.

This week I must return to the urgent matter of PPU Headquarters Fund. Encouraged by your generosity last year, we again put our aim as high as £1,000 for 1952. In spite of the continual rise in the cost of living, I feel sure that we can rely on every reader of Peace News to help us to reach this total, because you all appreciate the fact that the cost of our work also is increasing.

It is in a very real sense the cost of living, because one simple definition of pacifism is the assertion of the right to live. Although we do from time to time have special gifts of larger amounts, we shall not reach our aim without the smaller gifts sent in day by day to PPU Headquarters Fund.

On an average our receipts to date should amount to £250, but it only totals £71, so that we are short by £179. We must not get so far behind in the earlier part of the year that we lose sight of our goal.

May I make an urgent appeal this week for the missing £179 and a special request that when you have read this you will send us something, however small—or large!

STUART MORRIS.
General Secretary.

Amount received to date: £71.
Our aim for 1952: £1.000.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

The world knows what needs to be done

—By The Rt. Hon. HAROLD WILSON, M.P.—

The writer was President of the Board of Trade from 1947 until he resigned in 1951 (with Mr. Bevan and Mr. Freeman) over a difference of view with the Labour Government on budgetary policy. He was MP for Ormskirk 1945-50. In 1950 he contested his present seat, Huyton, Lancs, securing the narrow majority of 834 votes. In 1951 (shortly after resigning his Cabinet post) he was returned with a majority of 1,193. Born in 1916, he was educated at council schools, Wirral Grammar School and Jesus College, Oxford. Economics Lecturer, New College, Oxford, 1937-38; Fellow University College, Oxford, 1938-39. Is presiding over a small committee of experts appointed by the Association for World Peace to make a more detailed study of the problems of the war on poverty.

THE Association for World Peace, established last year in this country, decided as one of its first acts, to set up a technical committee under my chairmanship, to prepare a report on the measures needed to carry through to victory the War on World Poverty.

This report, now in draft, will be published in the course of the next few weeks, and will contain the outline of a plan for world development.

Why has the idea of development of the backward areas of the world so caught the imagination of men and women of goodwill in this and other industrially advanced countries?

First, because they are conscious of the great gulf which exists between the richer and the poorer countries.

Millions are living and dying in conditions of hunger, poverty and disease.

If there were no other reason, the advanced areas would have a moral duty to promote world development, because of this gulf, and because it lies in their power at any rate to reduce it. But it is widely realised also that this is one of the ways to peace. Starving men seek desperate remedies: the misery, squalor and hunger of the poverty-ridden areas of the world are breeding-grounds of totalitarianism and violence.

Hell-bent on rearmament

International and national action so far taken to raise the standard of life in the under-developed areas has barely scratched the surface. The Colombo Plan, even if it were likely to be fully implemented, and on time, would not lead to any increase in the standards of living of the 570,000,000 people living in the area covered by it: it would barely suffice to provide the food and necessities of life for the increase in population.

Yet even that plan is lagging, lagging because the necessary finance—£1,000 millions of external capital—and the heavy capital equipment are not forthcoming from a Western World hell-bent on rearmament.

National action, such as the British Colonial Development and Welfare Fund is valuable, but on too small a scale.

Point Four, which captured the imagination of the world, remains an aspiration: it has in fact degenerated into a programme justifying the name recently given to it—Point Nought Four.

Similarly, the specialised agencies of the United Nations—the Food and Agriculture Organisation, the World Health Organisation, UNESCO, the Technical Assistance Administration—have their part to play, and in a limited sphere are doing a valuable job. But without adequate finance, and without an international authority charged with the task of promoting development, and stimulating both specialised agencies and national Governments into the necessary action, the drive required is lacking.

The world by now knows what needs to be done.

It is a problem of expanding the area of cultivable land by irrigation, drainage and jungle clearance.

Far more it is a problem of increasing agricultural yields not so much by glamorous and spectacular TVA-type multi-purpose projects, as by thousands upon thousands of small local projects designed to increase the productivity of native producers all overs the world.

In the main it is an extension of the best work now going on that is required, rather than a fundamental revolution in agricultural techniques.

Research plant and animal breeding, techniques for using modern equipment and fertilisers and preventing soil erosion, the development of pest control, and attacks on animal and human diseases: all these are needed, but the greatest need of all is for education and agricultural extension services, for leadership and encouragement in native communities.

No attraction to private enterprise

A great expenditure of capital will be required to provide the economic capital of development—roads, railways, harbours, docks and port installations, processing plants and warehouses.

Equally necessary is social capital—schools, hospitals and health centres, training institutes and colleges.

All this will take capital, and capital on a scale, and on terms of return which cannot attract private enterprise.

The report of the Committee of Experts appointed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations estimated—at last year's prices—that a modest programme aimed at increasing the national income of the principal under-developed areas by 2 per cent. per head per annum would involve an annual capital expenditure of $19,000 million, of which not less than $10,000 million, and perhaps as much as $14,000 millions would have to be transferred from the advanced countries.

This financial programme—and the mobilisation of capital equipment, raw materials and technical experts to make it effective—measure the challenge facing the world. If it is to be met it will mean fundamental changes in the attitudes of the advanced countries. It will mean turning over arms programmes to development programmes, tanks into tractors.

It will mean changes in international organisation and the establishment of an International Development Authority armed with the powers, and the resources, needed for the task.

It will mean a willingness to accept sacrifices on the part of the richer nations for the benefit of the rest of the world. It will mean a transformation in the hearts of men the whole world over.

But it will mean also that the world will be treading the way—the Only Way—to world peace and a higher standard of life for the peoples of all nations.



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10/- will pay the cost of sending 35 garments; £1 for 70; £3 for 210. 2/- will send enough for one child.

Remittances to:
Hon. Treasurer, Pax Relief, Barclays Bank, The Old Bank, Oxford.

"Please help, distress here is very great"—this plea still comes to us from the uprooted families of Europe, and from homeless Middle East war-victims. Many have lost the family breadwinner; many are ill; more still are helpless children. They face the coming months with no adequate clothing. Even the little you can do may mean restored hope and courage to one family.

The Need is Urgent. Men's, women's and children's clothing and footwear—all are needed *quickly* (do not wait to repair). Look through your old clothes *now*, see what you can spare. Kindly enclose your name and address to enable the Chairman to acknowledge safe receipt.

Please send clothing to: **Oxford/Paxrelief, c/o Davies, Turner & Co., Bourne Street, London S.W.1.**

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A WORLD PLAN FOR MUTUAL AID

By the Rt. Hon. JAMES GRIFFITHS M.P.

The writer was appointed Secretary of State for Colonies in the last Labour Government after five years as Minister of National Insurance. A former miner, and educated at elementary school and the Central Labour College, he became a miners' agent under the South Wales Miners' Federation and later became its President. He has retained his seat as MP for Llanelly since 1936.

TWO-THIRDS of the human race live in stark poverty, on the edge of famine and plagued by disease bred by squalor and ignorance. It is difficult for us in Western Europe to imagine what this poverty of the backward areas is like.

Let me cite some of the facts which will help to explain what it means.

In the USA the average income per head of the population is £400. In the United Kingdom it is £200. In thirteen other countries—most of them in the Western Hemisphere—it is £130. In the rest of the world it is about £20 to £30—ten shillings per person per week.

Infant mortality

Even these striking figures do not reveal the full magnitude of the poverty of the masses. For in many of these backward areas we find the greatest inequalities in the distribution of wealth.

In India 150 out of every 1,000 babies born die before reaching one year old. In the United Kingdom the comparable figure is 32 per 1,000 babies born. In Egypt it is 170, in the USA it is 31.

In some of the most advanced countries the expectation of life for a child one year old is more than twice that of a child born in the backward areas.

Illiteracy

In the United Kingdom illiteracy is too infinitesimal to be recorded. In the USA recent figures show that 4 per cent. of the population over ten years of age was illiterate. In Egypt the proportion is 85 per cent., and in India 90 per cent.

These are some of the facts that reveal the poverty of the backward areas. They are a challenge to us.

The people in these backward areas are on the march. The most important fact of our age is the emergence of the peoples of Asia and Africa. There is a rapid growth of nationalsm. Two world wars and a world depression in thirty years have shaken the world to its foundations.

The emergence of India as an independent nation—and also of Indonesia—coupled with events in China have set Asia on the road.

In Africa the growth of nationalism has been quickened by the developments in the Gold Coast. It is being accelerated by the native policy of the Nationalist Government of the Union of South Africa and the fears and the resentments it arouses.

This growth of nationalism is most clearly revealed in the passion for education among the peoples in the backward areas.

In the British African colonies there are now over two million African children at school. In Tanganyika there were 404 African teachers in 1938—by 1950 the number had grown to 1,445.

In Malaya the number of children at school has increased from 262,000 in 1941 (before the Japanese invasion) to 581,000 in 1950. During the same period the number of teachers increased from 7,000 to 14,000.

In the British colonies new University Colleges in West and East Africa, in Malaya and the West Indies have a student population of over 3,000. There are over 5,000 students from the colonies studying in Britain.

The demand grows every day. The cry is for more education and for more knowledge. Poverty and ignorance can live side by side, but not poverty and knowledge.

The silence of the centuries is Asia and Africa is being broken, perhaps by voices that sound shrill to us. But they are voices pregnant with meaning for the future of the whole world.

It may well be that the future of the world will be determined not at Lake Success, but on the paddy fields of Asia and in the villages of Africa.

Population

Shall we become their partners, willing and anxious and ready to help them in their struggle? That is the spirit in which our World Plan for Mutual Aid must be conceived, prepared and administered if it is to fulfil our hope.

If any plan, however bold and imaginative, is to have any hope of success we must first deal with the problem of the rapid growth of the population in the backward areas. Unless this growth is checked, all that our plans could do would be to maintain the present standards and not to raise them.

In South-East Asia alone it is estimated that the population will increase by 120 millions in the next 20 years. In all the backward areas, by the aid of the marvels of modern medicine and the development of the health and social services, we are saving lives much quicker than we are developing the resources necessary to feed and maintain them, even at the present poverty levels.

Land reclamation

Next comes the tough and difficult job of land reclamation: the prevention of soil erosion and the improvement of the methods of cultivation. To journey from the East coast of Africa, Dar-es-Salaam, to Northern Rhodesia, as I have done, is to travel over hundreds upon hundreds of square miles of tsetse infested bush land that presents a terrifying picture of the problem confronting us in land reclamation.

I set this against one of the most successful schemes of reclamation that was sponsored under the British Colonial Development and Welfare Scheme. This is in the district of Mbulu in Tanganyika, with an area of about 3½ million acres.

The area is infested with tsetse fly and plagued by sleeping sickness. Yet the population is increasing rapidly, and the fertility of the soil is declining. As in so many parts of Africa it is a light soil, easily eroded.

To arrest the decay and to resettle the population in the district, we assembled a team of technicians—agricultural, veterinary, medical and educational. We brought the African Native Authority into active participation in the plan. We voted £90,000 from our British Colonial Development and Welfare Fund, another Native Authority raised £34,000, and also organised unpaid communal labour for some of the work.

At the end of the first two years we had cleared, by communal labour, about 150 square miles of fly-infested bush and some 3,500 acres were treated with contour terracing. A water survey of dam sites and pipelines had been carried out, and one dam had been completed and work on three more begun. Eighteen miles of new road had been made and many existing tracks improved. All this to resetlle some 300 families.

Planning

The story of our Mbulu project throws into bold relief some of the basic problems that our World Plan must take into account.

To clear the above-mentioned area—a tiny fraction of one backward country—has, in its first two years, cost £124,000, plus a big effort by unpaid communal labour. That gives us some idea of the cost of more ambitious plans.

Professor W. Arthur Lewis, of Manchester University, has estimated that in the British African colonies alone, to increase the standard of life by 2 per cent. per annum, an annual investment of capital of £150 millions will be required.

Under the British Colonial Development and Welfare Fund, the ten-year plans of 23 colonial territories involved a capital expenditure of £194 millions. It is clear already (less than halfway through the ten-year plans) that these sums are inadequate, even for the plans adopted. And they only cover a part of the most urgent need. The six-year plans of the countries covered by the Colombo Plan involved a cost of £2,000 millions.

The only approach to this problem of cost is to invite the Governments of the backward countries to prepare plans of the most urgent needs over a period—five or ten years—and then to seek to meet the need for outside assistance.

Co-operation

Walter Reuther, of the Congress of Industrial Organisations of America, suggested that the USA should set aside 5 per cent. of its national income to be made available for a United Nations Fund for Economic and Social Reconstruction.

The peoples of the backward areas must be in at the making of the plans. They must feel that they are **their** plans and our help. The plan must neither be conceived nor projected as a weapon against Communism or any other ism.

It must be a plan to combat economic and social evils, a crusade against poverty and squalor and disease and ignorance. They will need the help of our experts—technicians and doctors and administrators. But from the outset it must be clear that it is to help train their own administrators, technicians and doctors.

Our plans must be such as to invoke the co-operation of the masses of these countries. The success of the Mbulu project I referred to was made possible only by invoking the aid of communal labour. In all our efforts we have found that this is the key to success.

Facts and Figures

SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN THE COLONIES

By FRANCIS RONA, M.Sc. (Econ.)

SLAVERY in British Colonies became illegal in 1833. Flogging and other cruelties subsequently diminished, but "freedom" brought little, if any, change in the economic position of natives or subjugated peoples.

Unfortunately, colonial problems attract little public attention in Britain. Apart from coloured "Official Reports" facts on wages and health are not available.

What "benefits" have colonial peoples obtained from the white man's economic system? What advance in welfare conditions has been attained for native peoples in the last 100 years?

Lord Durham remarked in his Report on "rebellious Canada" in 1837:

> "The complete ignorance of the British public and most of its legislators . . . produces a general indifference which nothing but some great colonial crisis ever dispels."

This dictum holds good also today. Constitutionally, the Colonial Office is responsible for the well-being of some 65m. peoples, living in an area of approx. 1,900,000 sq. miles (UK 98,000 sq. m; pop: 50,800,000) of which about 80 per cent. is in Africa.

The Secretary for the Colonies is responsible to Parliament for colonial policy and administration, that is, for every official act of his subordinates in the Colonial Service. Apart from occasional questions by MPs, colonial policy is usually discussed in Parliament one evening a year in the Budget debate.

As Parliament is answerable to the electorate, men and women of Britain are ultimately responsible for the administration of Colonies.

NO PARTNERSHIP—NO REPRESENTATION

Miss Rita Hinden stated in a Labour Party pamphlet (Oct., 1946):

> "The Party needs to introduce some new fire and spirit into its colonial programme. . . . Our purpose is to convert a poor, abuse-ridden, discontented Empire into a **prosperous** and **free** association of peoples, perhaps united by treaties arrived at voluntarily by Britain and the individual Colonies as **equal** partners."

The East Africa Commission (Cmd. 2387) in 1925 suggested as first objective of policy "the moral and material development of the native inhabitants." This statement bears very little, if any, resemblance to the true picture. Colonies were, and still are, lucrative hunting grounds for City enterprises and sources of cheap labour for white settlers.

One example was quoted in a speech by Dr. Morgan (Lab. Warrington), in Parliament on July 12, 1950.

> "On this question of financial exploitation. . . . For nearly 20 years the St. Kitts Sugar Factory Co. have been paying an annual dividend on their original capital of 1,000 per cent. . . .
>
> "I beg the Colonial Secretary to see whether they cannot do more for this poor Colony where disease is rampant—not only venereal disease which the foreigners brought in, and which they cannot help, but malaria and tuberculosis. . . ."

The White Paper of 1923 (Cmd. 1922) laid down:

> "Primarily, Kenya is an African territory . . . the interests of the African natives must be **paramount.**"

In Peace News, on Jan. 18, 1952, Mr. Douglas Rogers reported that in Kenya 16,000 sq. miles (one-sixth of the UK) were taken from the natives without compensation, and that 5½ million natives are compressed in 50,000 sq. miles of barren and tsetse infested territories. The Petition of the Kenya Union (100,000 members) presented by delegates in London, was recently refused by the Colonial Secretary.

As colonial peoples have no representative Governments, they can either address themselves to the Colonial Secretary or to some international authority. But the attempt of the UN Trusteeship Council to co-operate in colonial progress was flatly turned down by the three largest Colonial Powers (Sunday Observer, Jan. 1, 1950):

> "Britain, France and Belgium have reached complete agreement on their

(Continued on page seven)

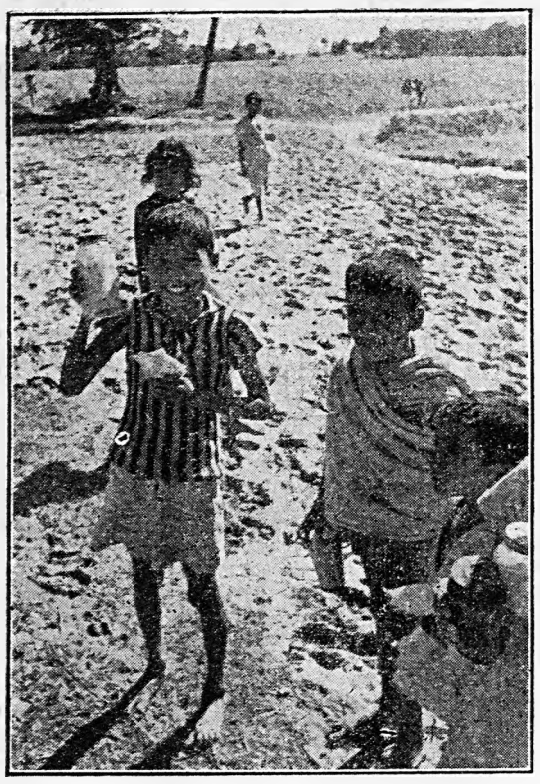
"BACKWARD AREAS" — POPULATION AND AREA

	POPULATION (million) 1950	AREA sq miles (1,000)	INCOME per head in 1949 (average)	Deaths of infants under 1 year per 1,000 live births (1946 - 1949)
ASIA				
India	358	1,218	£20	123
Indonesia	74	735	9	not available
Pakistan	75	361	18	not available
Philippines	20	116	16	102
Iran	19	428	30	(Teheran) 93
AFRICA				
TOTAL	198			
FRENCH colonies	42	2,660	not avail.	(Dakar) 163
BRITISH territories (excl. U. of S. Afr)	57	1,526	not avail.	(Gold Coast) 125
BELGIAN colonies	14.8	880	not avail.	not available
PORTUGUESE „	11.5	795	not avail.	not available
SOUTH AMERICA (selected countries)				
Brazil	52	3,288	£40	(Rio-de-J) 127
Colombia	11.3	440	47	134
Peru	8.4	514	35	106
Venezuela	4.9	352	115	91
Puerto Rico (U.S.)	2.2	3.4	not avail.	68
Jamaica (U.K.)	1.4	4.6	not avail.	81

SOURCES: UN "Review of Econ. Condit. in Africa," March 1951 (New York), UN Demographic Yearbook 1951 (New York), Vital Stat. (Geneva), UN Statistical Papers, Series E/1, Oct. 1950.

NOTE: Income figures—representing averages—are not strictly comparable as living conditions are different. £1=$2.80. In Britain=Average INCOME: £223, INFANT MORTALITY: 31.

FOOD

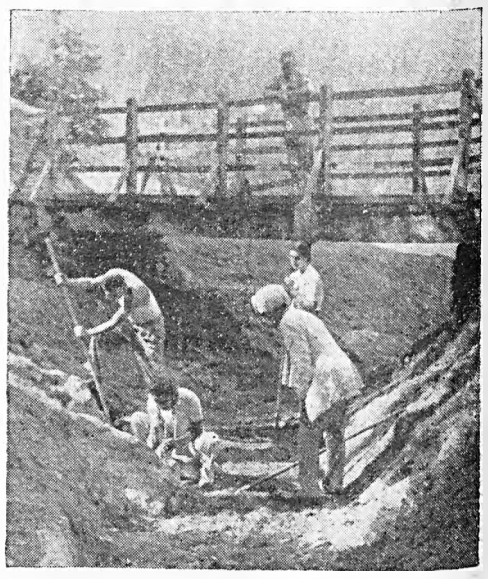


Milk is a taken-for-granted item in the day's purchases made by the average housewife in Europe and America. For the children in Asia, like those (left) who have just collected theirs from a milk centre established by Quakers it means the difference between life and death, or at best, between straight and crooked limbs.



WATER





Water supplies need miles of piping—so too do airfields and battleships. In India (right) European and Indian "pick-and-shovel-peacemakers," members of the International Voluntary Service for Peace, have done the next best thing, dug out a channel to bring water to the mountain village of Khajjiar. In Mexico, where many villages are without clean water, conscientious objectors from the neighbouring USA have been digging wells and delivering fresh water by water cart.

LESLIE HALE, MP reviews Josue de Castro's

Geography of Hunger*

"IF Cleopatra's nose had been a little shorter," said Blaise Pascal, "all history might have been different." And we can now say with certitude that it would also have been different had she lived on an exclusive diet of carbo-hydrates. Caesar's demand to be surrounded by men that were fat, was not one of those cases where "man embraces woman."

Had Hitler had a little more adrenalin in his glandular secretions, the policy of genocide would probably never have been undertaken.

More and more we are coming to realise that problems of nutrition are associated with many other vital questions.

Nutritional deficiency, or lack of adequately balanced diet, is now known to be the predisposing factor in many of the gravest scourges. Professor de Castro points out that it accounts also, to a very great degree, for the diversities of national physique, national characteristics and temperament.

The Sikhs and the Masai were mighty warriors because their varied food gave them a physical advantage over their neighbours.

France was gay, not so much because of Latin temperament but because of adequately balanced diet; the so-called melancholy nations suffer from a melancholia due to malnutrition.

The remedy was forbidden

In this most admirable book, Professor de Castro brilliantly writes a story full of romance and yet for us of the prosperous nations, full of reproach.

Boys of all ages can be thrilled with the story of the battle against nutritional diseases, in which long research, incredible luck and chance and brilliant reasoning, all played their part.

Less stimulating is the fact that scientists who found that the dread disease pellagra, the scourge of many nations, could be cured by adequate nutrition, also discovered that politicians would not permit them to apply the remedy.

The story of famine is no new thing. "The stele of famine" found over a granite tomb in the first cataract of the Nile, reports one which raged in Egypt 2,000 years before the time of Abraham.

The King's lamentation expresses quite as clearly as could any modern document, the terrors of hunger and of famine.

> "I am mourning on my high throne, for the vast misfortune, because the Nile flood in my time has not come for seven years. Light is the grain, there is lack of crops and of all kinds of food. Each man has become a thief to his neighbour. They desire to hasten and cannot walk. The child cries, and the youth creeps along, and the old men; their souls are bowed down, their legs are bent together and dragged along the ground and their hands rest in their bosom. The counsel of the great ones of the Court is but emptiness. Torn open are the chests of provisions, but instead of contents there is air. Everything is exhausted."

China's famine record

There have been in China alone, 1,879 recorded famines in the last 2,000 years yet so little effective research has been done that when the rescuers came to Burgen Belsen no one knew what treatment to administer for starvation!

There is so much to do—so little time to do it. The world needs tractors and not tanks. And yet here and there in the narration, are examples of what could be done forthwith quite easily with important results.

There are 300,000 people in the world suffering so dreadfully from malaria that they can do little more than raise their limited food to their lips.

Yet the admirable experiments conducted by the United Nations Organisation show that D.D.T. could revolutionise this problem and probably restore 600,000 productive hands to the world.

There is much heart searching in this book for those of us who live in comfortable areas.

One great area of starvation is actually situated in the United States of America. Professor de Castro selects for special comment, Puerto Rico, one of the latest of American colonies and says that the comparable example is Hong Kong where the English have done nothing to deal with the nutritional deficiency of the people since 1842.

He deals adequately and firmly with the supporters of Vogt and the neo-Malthusians. He does not believe that the starving are born to starve nor does he take comfort from the theory that famine is a good thing for those who have to suffer it.

Mr. C. Leslie Hale, MP, has represented Oldham West since 1945. A solicitor, he joined anti-aircraft artillery as a gunner in 1939, and was discharged on medical grounds in 1942. He has recently become a member of the National Peace Council. With Sir Richard Acland, MP, he prepared the pamphlet "Tanks into Tractors" for the Association for World Peace.

One thousand, five hundred million people in the world today are suffering from malnutrition!

In some areas of China, 98 per cent. of the population suffer from parasitic infestation; and one scientist has estimated that the weight in Chinese intestines of worms which consume part of the remaining diet being absorbed, is 130,000 tons. Today we know this suffering is unnecessary.

I commend this book to all. It reinforces the warnings that have come from the World Health Organisation (of which Professor de Castro is the Chairman of the Executive Committee), from Unesco and from Unisoc. We cannot go on giving to people clamouring for food, a diet of pamphlets.

Expoitation in Malaya

A few days ago, General Templer is reported as having said of his task in Malaya:

> "I could win this war in three months if I could get two-thirds of the people on my side. It is not a military problem, it is a political war. The basic problem is the people."

Malaya makes a rich contribution to the sterling area. Yet the protein intake of its people is 7.5 grammes per day compared with over 60 grammes in the United States or in Sweden. Food can surely bring peace to Malaya quicker than bombs.

Unless we face up to this vital problem, we forfeit the right to the respect of the world and to self-respect. For 4,000 years now, "the counsel of the great ones of the Court is but emptiness." How long can this continue?

* *Gollancz*, 18s.

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The significance of the Colombo Plan

WILL IT GET ITS SHARE OF DOLLARS AND POUNDS?

By Wilfred Wellock

THE Colombo Plan is something new in international relations, and were it operated with the zest of a deep faith it would revolutionise those relations and completely change the world outlook, also the spirit in which the nations of the earth live and labour.

In essence it is a plan for the giving of aid to the "backward," or primary-producing, countries, to enable them to raise their standards of living and achieve their economic independence. In the main, the aid to be given is to consist of technical advice and capital goods, especially machinery for the production of electric power, in combination with large water control schemes for the irrigation of arid or semi-arid land.

At once let it be admitted that a major motive behind the Plan is the fear of Communism.

Origin of the Plan

The Colombo Conference, which inaugurated the Plan, embraced British Commonwealth countries only, and was one of a series of Conferences of Commonwealth Foreign Ministers which had taken place from time to time since the end of World War II. It took place from Jan. 9-14, 1950.

Great Britain had previously allocated money for the development of her Colonial territories, but more needed to be done, and quickly if the sweep of Communist advance in the East was to be checked.

The Colombo Conference was called for the purpose of reviewing "the international situation, including the broad economic aspects." On political issues there was much conflict, but on the economic issue there was complete agreement. All were agreed "that the fundamental problem of Asia was economic not political," and that it was necessary to tackle the problem of Asian poverty and of raising its living standards.

The discussions were brought to a head by Mr. P. C. Spender, the Australian Foreign Minister, who recommended "that the Commonwealth Governments consider a project of economic co-ordination whereby each contributing member would provide material help to the countries of S.E. Asia," and proposed "that a Commonwealth Consultative Committee be set up to work out practical measures for the development of the region, the first meeting to be held in Australia." It was duly held in Sydney in March 1950.

The Sydney Conference

At these two Conferences it was laid down that:

1. The principle of Commonwealth Economic Co-operation should be the basis of the SE Asia development scheme;
2. No political conditions should be attached to any aid given;
3. The benefiting countries should draw up their own plans of development and state the nature and extent of the aid they desired;
4. All nations of S-E Asia should be invited to participate in the Plan;
5. Every country which was able and willing to render aid under the Plan should also be invited to join. This paved the way for participation by the USA, since the Plan was in harmony with the aims and methods of the Marshall Plan and the Point Four Programme.

The Sydney Conference appointed a Standing Committee which drew up a constitution for a Council of Technical Co-operation, one function of which was to consider the right and best use of the resources available through the United Nations and its agencies, the U.S. Point Four Programme, and the Commonwealth technical aid scheme.

The countries of SE Asia were extremely cautious at first, as they feared encroachments on their independence and sovereignty. However, the assurances given enabled them to accept the co-operation offered, which they did with gratitude. Indeed they were all asked to survey the future and prepare a scheme of development, stating precisely the kind and amount of aid they desired during the next five or six years.

In the discussions, the term "progressive policies" came into prominence. Mr. Nehru, India's Prime Minister, who led the Indian delegation thought it necessary to define this term, which he did in the phrase "economic policies of development," pointing out that many in the East had other ideas of economic development than those which prevail in the West. It was these discussions which caused the Manchester Guardian in a leading article to state that the Conference was a triumph for Mr. Gandhi and the economic policy he had propounded.

It is highly significant that since these Conferences, the USA has not only promised to support the Colombo Plan, but has declared her willingness to assist the development of village industries in the East. How important this is may be gathered from an official statement issuing from India House on Jan. 15, 1951, that the Provincial Government of Madras had carried electricity to 16,000 villages and to 1,500 rural industries.

No less significant are these closing words of the White Paper on the Colombo Plan:

"The countries of South and South East Asia are rich in the dignity of peasants tilling the soil, and in the wisdom of teachers and scholars. They also possess incalculable capital in the form of the traditions of civilisations which are older than civilisation itself—traditions which have produced treasures of art and learning and which still mould the minds and spirits of their peoples. The worst effect of poverty has been to cloud and circumscribe these human aspects. They must be liberated so that they can contribute towards the self-realisation of individuals, towards the fulfilment of national aspirations, and towards the enhancement of the lives of other peoples throughout the world."

Could there be a more convincing argument in favour of a civilisation of quality rather than of quantity, for the West? The last sentence of that quotation should be pondered by every thinking person in the West.

Such, in brief, is the nature and history of the Colombo Plan. But what of its fulfilment? The military programmes receive full measure of Dollars and Pounds but the Colombo Plan . . . ? Alas, alas!

U.N. MUTUAL AID

Liberation is not enough

By FRANK DAWTRY

IN the old days of imperialism and exploitation the conscience of many a nation was sweetened by the introduction of the term "trustee" to replace the former term of "Imperial Power."

The fact that the trustees gave the name to themselves; that the trust was held without any authority from the people in trust, and that it was administered at the whim or discretion only of the self-appointed trustee, did not seem to trouble anyone except the poor people who were in trust, and a few critics in the trustee countries.

In this, however, as in many other matters, the critics, denounced as fanatical, unpatriotic, disloyal, anti-British (in our case), were in a few years seen to have been right.

The plea for liberation of the backward peoples came from a few, but became the policy of the majority. India is our greatest example of this.

For the more backward people it soon became obvious—as the critics had always maintained—that mere liberation was not enough. People could not suddenly be set free and know what to do or how to do it—largely because the trustees had kept their involuntary charges in complete ignorance about the trust, and denied them any opportunity to practise responsibility.

When liberation came, it was a sudden thing and it came first to the peoples of the "enemy" colonies of the 1914-18 war. The winners of that war could not nakedly assume ownership and control of the liberated countries and it was therefore necessary for a real trust to be attempted.

The answer was in the League of Nations, through which the trusteeship system was evolved. It was not a great success because the trustees were still the winners of the war and they were given charge of the lands and people formerly administered by the losers.

Many of the worst features of imperialism remained, though a trusteeship council checked—or sought to check—the more glaring abuses. Trusteeship was at any rate a legally recognised term in international affairs.

*

Now we have had another war; now the economic pressure is such that not only colonies learning to live in liberty, or hoping to do so, are backward peoples, but some of the small nations too, as much in the hands of the large powers as ever a colony was.

We have also a new international machine in the United Nations. The big fellows rule the roost, except when the odd man out objects, but some of the little fellows have a real voice. We are not yet clear of exploitation, nor yet of hypocrisy, but progress has been made.

The big difference from previous experience is that the United Nations is not arranging political responsibility—it is taking active steps to relieve economic need which is the first essential to the development of the poorer countries.

In a long view, let it be said that the steps may be misguided, for economic need is tied up with the almost overwhelming world economic crisis, which will not be solved by any rearrangement of finance. In the immediate situation however, United Nations is doing what in its limited vision seems to be most urgently needed. It is arranging for the provision of advice with practical help, and financial backing, for the countries now emerging from the long night of private trusteeship—emerging impoverished, hungry, backward, illiterate, untrained, a tribute to the work of their former trustees.

A pamphlet ("UN's Mutual Aid" by Gordon Evans, 1s.) published by the United Nations Association tells how this help is being organised, how the various UN subsidiaries are going into the backward countries.

Health and educational services for Ceylon, food production and control of disease in Chile; transport, rural development, malaria control in India; economic advice, new light industries, irrigation systems for Iran; land and water reclamation for Yugoslavia, civil aviation for the Philippines . . . and so on.

The pamphlet tries to show also how, much more cautiously, the capital is being sought and some of it found. Not enough is available and that is not surprising—the great manufacturing powers cannot continue to sink capital to help smaller countries to build their factories and grow their own food, and so dry up the already rapidly shrinking export markets of the world.

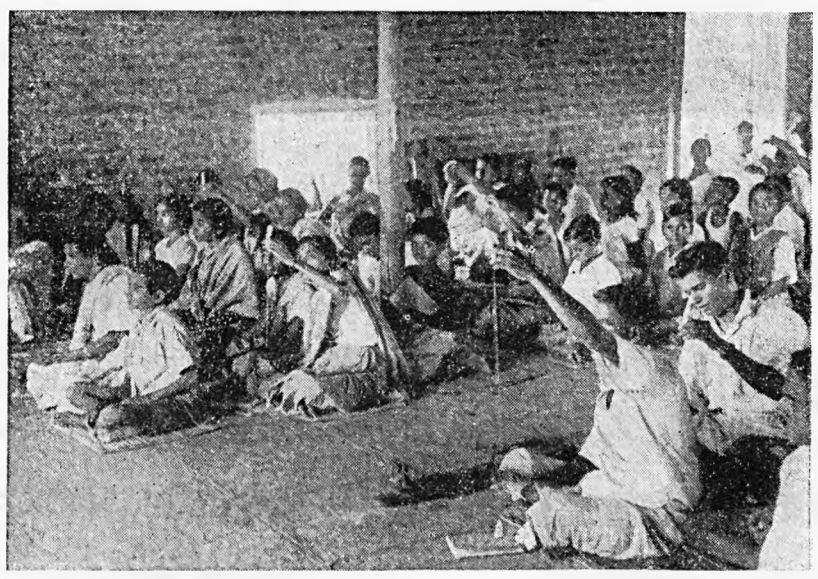
This pamphlet, however, is not an argument—it is a statement of facts and a most useful one too. The arguments will continue.

There is at last something of a national and international conscience about the dependent countries, but their satisfactory revival through United Nations will involve still more sacrifice by the wealthy powers and much rethinking of world problems, on world lines.

But, as the foreword to this pamphlet says, the programme outlined is one of the most practical and constructive ever undertaken by any international organisation. "It is a new instrument of progress" and it is well for us to know about it.

This foreword, by the way, gives personal pleasure to some of us for it is written by David Owen, Assistant General Secretary of UN, who was known to us years ago as very nearly a pacifist in his early days of Sheffield's Civic Survey, at Glasgow University, and in P.E.P.

EDUCATION

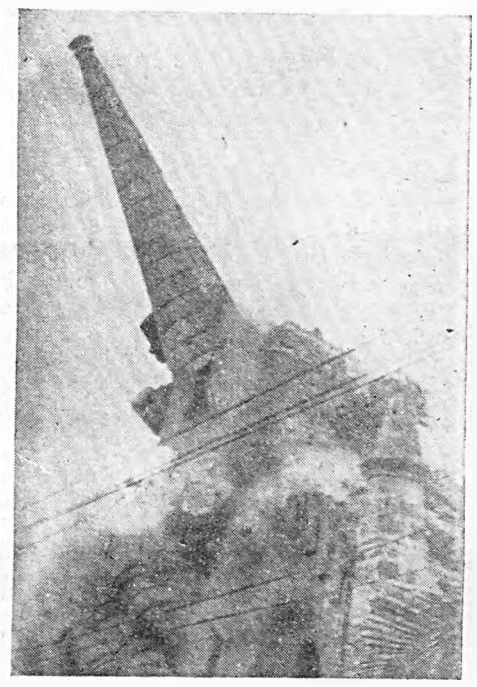


THE SEVAGRAM BASIC EDUCATION SCHOOL

Basic education was Gandhi's solution to Asia's problem of providing education in the midst of acute poverty: education should be given through the medium of a craft; it should be built up and around the scientific knowledge concerned with the craft and the activities of daily living.

Picture shows pupils at Sevagram assembled for an election; craft work continues while business is being discussed. This first basic experimental school was started in 1938.

EARTHQUAKE AND FIRE



DISASTER

An earthquake in under-developed Ecuador in 1949 killed over 6,000 people, injured tens of thousands more and rendered 100,000 homeless.

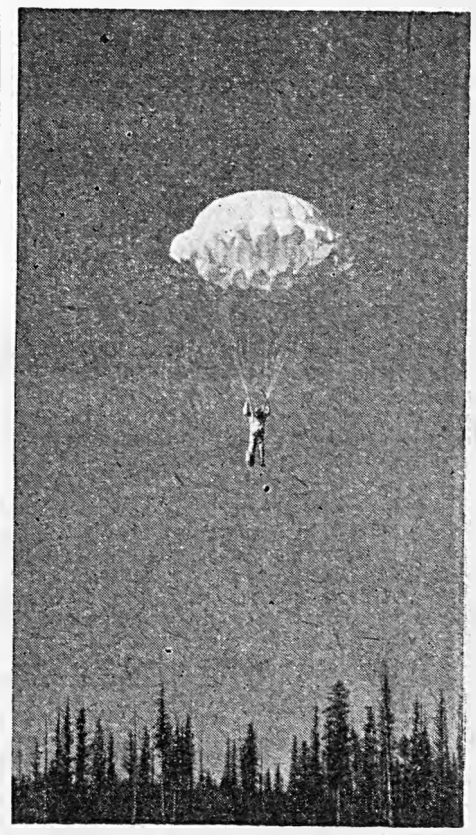
It was ten days before it was announced from Lake Success that UN would provide emergency aid. For days no food was available to anyone.

Above is shown the collapsing spire of a church in Ambato; the picture was taken by an American conscientious objector who with others had been working to ease the lot of South America's poverty-stricken populace before this greater disaster came.



RELIEF

UN aid, when it ultimately came was generous. Above is shown a UN International Children's Emergency Fund worker distributing milk to one of the 40,000 children in the stricken area.



PREVENTION

Earthquakes cannot be prevented, but forest fires can be checked by prompt action. The American conscientious objector (above) refused to fight men but agreed to fight fires as a parachutist in the forest fire service.

Will "International Disaster Units" one day replace the European Army and NATO?

A pioneer in world food planning

LORD BOYD ORR

By Robert Greacen

NOT so long ago I listened to Lord Boyd Orr address a large assembly of older schoolchildren on the world's food situation.

He had succeeded various notable politicians as speaker and it was interesting to see how he kindled his audience of young minds where more smooth and practised speakers had failed.

The man's sincerity—emphasised, if anything, by his rich Scottish accent—put him across, without any need for theatrical effects. Young people are good judges of character, so it was not surprising that Lord Boyd Orr sat down to thunderous applause.

John Boyd Orr was born 71 years ago in the parish of Kilmaurs in Ayrshire, not far from the birthplace of Sir Alexander Fleming, the scientist largely responsible for the discovery of penicillin.

Growing up in a Calvinistic Presbyterian home—but one in which politics and theology were seriously and knowledgeably discussed—it was natural that he should have decided early on to be a Presbyterian minister. But Glasgow University changed young Boyd Orr's direction; the tenets of Darwin's theory clashed with the doctrines of the Church, with the result that after taking his MA degree he chose to study medicine.

*

Having won a brilliant MD, Boyd Orr could have established himself in lucrative practice. He did not do so for he had been profoundly disturbed by the social conditions of Glasgow's slum areas which obviously gave rise to so much illness. There was hardly much point merely in patching up people whose sufferings were largely due to malnutrition.

He early realised the primacy of food in human affairs. Post-graduate research in metabolic diseases brought him a D.Sc., on the strength of which he took up a post at Aberdeen University as Director of Animal Nutrition Research.

But the First World War came before he had had time to get under way at Aberdeen. Joining the RAMC he won the DSO and MC in 1917 for "devotion and personal courage" in carrying on his medical work under fire. Here surely was another case of patching up, though prompted by the highest humanitarian motives.

Back in Aberdeen after the war, Boyd Orr took up his real work once again, and largely by his own energy and determination turned a modest laboratory into the Imperial Bureau of Animal Nutrition. The Bureau was to become known to nutrition experts not only in the British Commonwealth but throughout the world.

A lesser man would have been satisfied by such achievement in a specialised field, especially when the official seal was set on it by his election as a Fellow of the Royal Society. But Boyd Orr, then as now, was a crusader, a man with a social conscience and a fierce determination not to neglect its promptings.

*

It was that streak of the crusader in him that led to his survey "Food, Health and Income," the results of which he published in the middle 1930s. He showed that almost half the people of Britain could be regarded as being insufficiently well-fed (Lack of knowledge of food values was a contributory factor and not only low income). Further, he pointed to the submerged 4½ millions, consisting largely of the unemployed and their families, who suffered directly from the effects of malnutrition. These findings were dynamite and well the politicians knew it.

Economists tried, with some embarrassment, to show just where Boyd Orr had slipped up; but responsible scientific opinion in the end agreed that he had been absolutely right. The Government knighted him and set him to work on various commissions; but "recognition" of that kind did not damp Boyd Orr's ardour.

His social investigations were extended all over the country, and selected communities assisted to achieve better diets. The results, having been carefully analysed, provided a base for the rationing system brought into being during World War II. It is ironic that it took a war to make Britain learn a lesson from the findings of one of her leading nutrition experts.

Boyd Orr visited the U.S. in 1942, ostensibly as a British medical delegate, but largely to find out just what Roosevelt and his advisers proposed to do about the world food problems that would face the newly-named "United Nations" when the shooting was over. In 1943 a Food Conference was held at Hot Springs, but the Coalition government did not allow Boyd Orr to attend it. The only sign of his influence there was in the controversial Paul Rotha film "The World of Plenty" based on Boyd Orr's plans for fair shares in world food.

By 1945 he had won a seat at Westminster as Independent representative of the Scottish Universities, and there he was able to argue his case and gain public attention. Perhaps because of his increased status as an MP (for politicians are much more important beings than scientific prophets) he was sent as technical adviser of the British delegation to the UN meeting in Quebec, in October 1945.



(By courtesy of THE TIMES)

Lord Boyd Orr (left) receiving the Nobel Gold Medal, symbol of the Peace Prize for 1949. On his left are the President of the Nobel Committee; Lady Boyd Orr and Mrs. M. L. Jahn.

At Quebec the Charter of the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) was drawn up. Boyd Orr stood four-square for an agency that would have real power in allocating food to those who needed it most. The diplomats merely wanted a safe, fact-finding body whose recommendations and warnings could be ignored when individual governments found them inconvenient. The diplomats won, but could not prevent the appointment of Boyd Orr as Director General of the new Agency.

As FAO's Director General, Boyd Orr refused to play according to the rules of expediency and national self-interest, for he took seriously his oath to put world interests before those of any nation or group of nations. He called an emergency Famine Conference in Washington, in May, 1946, where he was asked to prepare a scheme for setting up a World Food Board.

A few months later Boyd Orr's proposals for building up an international reserve of food were politely accepted by the politicians, but watered down in actual fact. *National* reserves were decided on, making nonsense of Boyd Orr's truly imaginative plan.

*

In 1948 Boyd Orr realised that there would be little point in holding on to his job as Director General; the forces drawn up against him held the winning cards. He went, but not before issuing a grim warning (the effect of which was strengthened by virtue of his office) against the unprecedented increase in world population, and the ravages of erosion. How, he asked, were all these mouths to be fed?

Boyd Orr has proclaimed the answer to that question time and again in the course of his public life. Scientific method in agriculture is the key to the achievement of a decent standard of life for every man, woman and child; but the scientific and human way is blocked by short-sightedness and the unwillingness of the better-off countries to make temporary sacrifices. The peoples of Asia are starting to take their revenge for Europe's indifference to their problems; and they are only at the beginning of their political awakening.

Prophets today, in Western Europe at least, are not stoned to death. Instead, they are loaded with honours in the hope that they will fall silent or at least become more "reasonable." Boyd Orr has had his share of public honours—a peerage and, in 1949, the Nobel Peace Prize.

He gave the proceeds of the Nobel Prize to a number of organisations which in their different ways work towards lasting peace and the concept of "one world." A hopeless task? It looks like that sometimes, but then one remembers the determined sincerity that lies behind the best contemporary minds; and it is hard to believe that, in the end, the courage and vision and humanity of which Boyd Orr is such an outstanding example will not triumph over cynicism and self-interest.

Pacifist Miscellany

EVERY now and then we are solemnly warned against letting Britain decline to the status of a third-rate power.
Egypt, I suppose, is "third rate," and Persia, Finland too, and perhaps Sweden.
And what about the abyssmal depths of San Marino, sometimes called the "oldest state in Europe," and Monaco, and tiny Liechtenstein? All three together have not the population and power of many a London suburb.
Peoples, it seems, can be hopelessly "third-rate" and still happily survive!
By the same reckoning, Russia is evidently first-rate—and how frightened of her mostof Europe appears to be!
The great city, wrote Walt Whitman, can be just a few ragged huts, and yet if its men and women are great it becomes the greatest city in the world. But if the price of peace—active peace—is to be only "third-rate" in menacing power, what could be more welcome! P.R.

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★ ★

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Crisis in Kenya, by S. and K. Aaronovitch. (A survey of economic conditions and policies.) Lawrence & Wishart, 1947, 2s. 6d.

In Face of Fear, by Freda Troup. (Segregation in S. Africa and work of Rev. Michael Scott.) 12s. 6d.

New Worlds Emerging, by Earl Parker Hanson. (Description of white man's intrusion in various Continents, with some critical observations.) Gollancz, 1950, 16s.

★ ★

In addition there are the books reviewed in this issue and a list of pamphlets advertised by Housman's Bookshop (from whom all the above books may be obtained) on page 8.

A Neglected Garden

By Harold S. Bing, M.A., F.R.Hist.S.

British Honduras, Past and Present, by Stephen L. Caiger. Allen and Unwin. 18s.

BRITISH HONDURAS, a stretch of tropical coastal and forest territory on the west side of the Central American Isthmus, is one of the least known British possessions, despite its getting into the headlines a few years ago, when it was claimed by Guatemala.

These two facts, neglect by the home country and disputed ownership, have characterised its history from the 16th century to the 20th, and fill the first and larger part of Stephen Caiger's account of the country.

This historical part is based mainly on Sir John Burdon's three-volume "Archives of British Honduras 1670-1884" and is therefore presumably reliable, though the author makes so many errors of dates and facts when he gets away from Honduras that one is inevitably a little doubtful about his scholarship.

The book, however, is intended for the general public which is probably as uncertain about the dates of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, the Seven Years' War, the American Civil War, the incident of the Shannon and the Chesapeake and Palmerston's first premiership as Mr. Caiger seems to be. It makes clear the sordid and bloodthirsty character of the imperialist ventures of Europeans in the Caribbean area from the time of Columbus onwards. It is typical of all imperialisms in their crude early stages, a story familiar to most readers of Peace News.

The latter part of the book illustrates the topsy-turvy economy so widely prevalent today in a world which has hardly yet realised that it is facing imminent starvation.

Here we have a fertile land equal in area to Palestine, with a not unfavourable climate and a population density of only seven to the square mile. (As Mr. Caiger rightly exclaims, "What could not Israel have done with a land like this!"). Yet this land, which could produce in abundance most of the things needed to support life, has a large adverse trade balance, and stranger still, this is much more than accounted for by imports into the colony of *food*—not delicacies, but milk, butter, cheese, meat, grain, potatoes, vegetables, cocoa, even *sugar*, *canned* vegetables and *canned* fish! All of these could be produced in abundance in the country itself.

Here, in fact, is a land which could provide a home for hundreds of thousands of displaced persons and ought to be producing large quantities of food. Yet, for reasons of which the reader of the book will form his own opinion, in spite of Nature's generosity, the country is an actual liability to a hungry world.

Hopelessness and Hopefulness in Africa

By John P. Fletcher

The Mistaken Land, by Michael Ardizzone. The Falcon Press, 8s. 6d.

White Traveller in Black Africa, by Colin Wills. Dennis Dobson Ltd., 12s. 6d.

COLOUR prejudice is a dreadful thing. These two books, on South Africa and West Africa strongly emphasise this.

Michael Ardizzone's "The Mistaken Land" is another of the many books on South Africa written by overseas writers who are shocked by what they find there. South African nationalist policies based on "no equality in church or state between white and black" turn them into prophets of doom. After four years' stay in South Africa, Ardizzone, an English journalist, has to write bitterly, though he calls his first chapter "the importance of not being bitter." Of the present policy and practice of *apartheid* he writes:

> "The tragic error of *apartheid* is that it destroys hope. Its barrier is absolute. No amount of striving may overcome it. It gives no credit to a man that he may be brilliant, or highly educated, or Christian, or wealthy . . . or even clean. It only asks whether he is white. If he is not, it tells him that, whatever he may achieve, the higher rewards of human effort are denied to him—always."

In his final chapter, "Is there Hope?" he foresees that South Africa itself may turn to the United Nations for protection against the black fury of its African subjects, and that UNO would give America a mandate to administer the country. It is indeed a gloomy book.

By contrast, Colin Wills' "White Traveller in Black Africa" is happy reading. The West African colonies he visited on behalf of the BBC: Nigeria, Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and Gambia, gave him a view of "a new world in the making." He feels "it is time the West Africans and the outer world were brought closer together," and he shows how the culture of African peoples creates the "comparatively new phenomenon of Europeans and Africans working together."

Ardizzone makes no mention of Gandhi's experience and influence in South Africa; Wills shows that men and women of good-will, whether white or black, can and do work together in this new world. Africa is emerging quickly these days; Gold Coast and Nigeria are now self-governing colonies and soon there will be more.

LETTERS

Britain's A-bomb

WE appear as a nation to be acquiescing tamely and without protest in the now openly-declared policy of our Government for the manufacture of atomic bombs. And this although we have been repeatedly warned by great scientists like Einstein and Oliphant, and by politicians like Truman and Eden, who at any rate ought to know what they are talking about, that a major atomic war threatens to destroy humanity wholesale and even to wipe out "life itself" from our planet.

Is our passive acquiescence with Government plans in this matter a sign of what psychologists might call the "unconscious death-wish" in the soul of humanity? Or is it merely proof of the ineffectiveness and lack of zeal in pacifist propaganda? After all the future of the whole of God's experiment in the making of humanity is involved: and therewith the future of such pleasant springlike things as little children and young animals! To fling these values aside in one more spasm of the deadly passions of fear, hatred and greed (think of the vast private fortunes involved in a hundred billions arms-programme) which crucified Jesus Christ, calls for a peace-witness infinitely more outspoken and prophetic than anything we have today.

Where is it to come from?

JOHN S. HOYLAND

Woodbrooke College,
Birmingham, 29.

CORRESPONDENTS have asked what the leaders of the Churches are going to do as to the proposal to explode Britain's own atom-bomb in Australia.

The matter is very much wider than that. What are, not merely leaders going to do, but what are the pacifist members of the Churches going to do? And not merely the Christian pacifists. What are the pacifist members of the Labour Party going to do, now that their leaders have produced an atom bomb on their own initiative?

Apparently most pacifists intend to stand by their war-like leaders in Church and party to the very bitter end. Mr. Churchill said last week "Thousands of men may fall mangled and torn by bomb, bayonet, bullet or grenade: whole areas of Korea may be devastated: 35,000 dead may be picked up in front of a single American division . . ." but most pacifists will not part company from the leaders in Church and State who have deliberately committed them to these things.

A reconsideration of pacifist policy at this practical level seems to be somewhat overdue.

WALLACE HANCOCK

8 Barclay Oval,
Woodford Wells, Essex.

Peace Pledge Union headquarters, 6 Endsleigh Street, Euston, W.C.1, need the help of a voluntary typist or shorthand-typist during mornings or afternoons to assist with expanding field-work.

Social conditions in the colonies

(Continued from page four)

future policy towards the UN Trusteeship Council.

"When the Council met in Paris, they were told bluntly that the Colonial Powers were not prepared to tolerate efforts to get supervisory control over non-self-governing territories of Africa."

Officials of the Powers have forgotten that the revolt of the American Colonies began, at the "Boston tea party" in 1773, over the principle of "taxation with out representation."

ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION

In various White Papers on Colonies, published by the Labour Government (Cmd. 7958, 7987, 8063, etc.), we do not find one fact about wage levels. To interested readers the official UN "Review on Economic Conditions in Africa, 1951," is recommended, where in Chapter 6, shocking facts are revealed.

In Uganda (1948) unskilled workers received 16s. monthly. In Nigeria unskilled workers in Government mines get £1 16s. 10d per month.

Workers on the Gold Coast are better paid, daily wage-rates vary from 2s. 6d. to 7s. 9d.

The unfortunate Africans in French, Belgian and Portugese territories work for much less. In French West Africa (1948) unskilled workers "earn" 42 francs (ten pence) per day.

Some newspapers demand international investigation of forced labour behind the so-called "Iron Curtain."

Suppose the Russians agree, under the condition of a simultaneous supervision in African Colonies? If Britain accepts, facts may be revealed as shown in Mr. G. Padmore's book: "How Britain Rules Africa" (Wishart, London, 1936):

> "Throughout Africa today, the Natives are crying out against taxation without representation, and are demanding fundamental economic, political and social reforms. . . .
>
> "In the Rhodesias and Nyasaland . . . the entire African population has been reduced to a condition of serfs toiling in the mines and plantations for European joint-stock companies and settlers. . . .
>
> "The Natives have to pay a poll-tax of 15s. . . .
>
> "Labour conditions in Tanganyika are terrible. A Native can be criminally prosecuted for breach of contract (fine 100s. or 6 months prison). Furthermore, officials have the right to order Natives to be flogged. . . .
>
> "All able-bodied Natives who remain in the Reserves can be called upon to work for the State for 2 months."

Labour conditions in Colonies—in the absence of a UN inquiry—may be investigated by the appointment of a Royal Commission or by unofficial social research. It appears, however, that descendants of the Anti-Slavery Society and social investigators mainly confine their attention to the more cosy districts like York and Bournville and ask there: "Has Poverty diminished?"

The discriminatory method of taxation of Natives has never been questioned in Parliament. It is inhuman that Natives must pay 15s. from their yearly "earnings" of £8. In Britain incomes up to £135 are untaxed.

It is frankly stated in Cmd. 7987, p. 134: "Malnutrition is the shadow behind the whole health problem in Africa." Later pages give a depressing account of widespread diseases.

ARMS RACE PREVENTS DEVELOPMENT

The Colonies desperately need agricultural improvement, development of resources and social services. But at this critical stage in history, the arms race condemns "backward areas" to permanent misery. Starvation conditions remain, not due to "overpopulation" as nonsensical Malthusianism asserts, but because development is prevented.

In Mr. Butler's Budget £15m. are allocated to Colonial Development and Welfare Administration (19.4m. in 1951). New capital investment is cut, except for military purposes.

No financial contribution will come from the USA (see Cmd. 7958, p. 85) because the "World Bank" insists on non-financial terms before granting a $5m. loan for agricultural equipment in British colonies. President Truman's much advertised "Point Four" programme has become the laughing-stock of the world.

While huge sums are spent for A-bombs, hundreds of millions are starving. Ideas, however, are stronger than atom bombs. The "price of peace" is not massive re-armament, as some Labour leaders believe, but improvement of social conditions and the development of "backward areas."

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Chair: The Rev. Eric Brampton

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THURSDAY, MARCH 27th, 7.30 p.m.

Notes for your Diary

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.
2. Include: Date, **TOWN**, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

Friday, March 21

LONDON, S.W.1: 7.30 p.m. Central Hall, Westminster: "Britain—Bridge or Battlefield"; Speakers: Rev. Dr. Donald Soper, Emrys Hughes, MP, Dr. Alex Comfort, Dr. J. B. Hugenholtz and Stuart Morris; Chair: Sybil Morrison; PPU.

SWANSEA: 7 p.m. Mt Pleasant Bapt Ch; Paul Cadbury, "Quaker Mission to Moscow"; SoF.

TAUNTON: 7.15 p.m. Municipal Hall, Corporation St; Rev. Clifford Macquire. "American scene of Today"; International Friendship League.

Fri., March 21-Sun., March 23

NORTHUMBERLAND: Otterburn Hall; Week-end Conf; Hugh Faulkner, Rev. John Lane, John Swomley; FoR.

Saturday, March 22

SALISBURY: 7.30 p.m. Church Ho; Johan S. Hoyland, MA, "World Government"; FoR.

Sat., March 22-Sun., March 23

WESTON-SUPER-MARE: Area week-end conf; The Rev. Clifford Macquire; Details from Stanley Salter, 6 Kensington Gdns, Bath.

Tuesday, March 25

RICHMOND: 8 p.m. Vernon Hall, Vernon Rd, E. Sheen; Henling Wade, "Crusade for World Government"; PPU.

SUNDERLAND: 7.30 p.m. Sans St Meth Ch; John Swomley, MA, "An American view of the East-West conflict"; Chair: Rev. Percy Carden; FoR.

Wednesday, March 26

EDINBURGH: 7.30 p.m. Central Hall, Tollcross; John Swomley, J. B. Hugenholtz, Alex Reid; Chair: Arnold Beevers; FoR.

MANCHESTER: 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho, Mount St; Frank Allaun, "The Press and War"; PPU.

WATFORD: 7.30 p.m. Public Library, Hempstead Rd; Dr. Alex Comfort, "Social Responsibility to Science and Art"; Science for Peace.

Thursday, March 27

BURY: 7.30 p.m. Co-op Hall, Knowsley St; Paul Cadbury and Duke of Bedford; Chair: Rev. Eric Brampton; "The Search for Peace—who is the Enemy?"; SoF.

GLASGOW: 7.30 p.m. Community Ho, Clyde St; John Swomley, MA, "An American view of the East-West Conflict"; Chair: Prof. G. H. C. Macgregor; FoR.

HAMPSTEAD: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho, Heath St; Speaker from East-West Friendship Council; PPU.

HARROW: 8 p.m. Little Arden Cottage, South Hill Ave, nr S. Harrow Stn; discussion on "NATO and World Government"; Crusade for World Government.

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho, Bush Rd; Topical talk by Mr. Titford; PPU.

LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields; Open-air Mtg; Robert Horniman; PPU.

Friday, March 28

LIVERPOOL: 8 p.m. YMCA, Mount Pleasant; John Swomley, "An American View of the East-West Conflict"; Chair: Walter D. Hendry; FoR.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens; Discussion of AGM reports; Central London PPU.

Saturday, March 29

MANCHESTER: 3.30 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho; John M. Swomley, Jr, "Pacifism in America"; 5.30 Tea; 6.30 Public Mtg; "The East-West Conflict"; United Peace Fellowship.

YORK: 7 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho, Clifford St, John Hoyland, "Mankind at the Cross-roads"; FoR.

Sunday, March 30

TUNBRIDGE WELLS: 12 noon, Harringtons Cafe; Speaker: Connie Jones; South-Eastern Area PPU.

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MEETINGS

ISLINGTON PEACE COUNCIL. Open Meeting. "What are we to do?" All opinions welcomed. Co-op Hall, Seven Sisters Road, N.7. Wednesday, March 26, 7.45 p.m.

"THE CHALLENGE of Socialism." Public meetings organised by the Socialist Party of Great Britain at Denison House, 296 Vauxhall Bridge Rd, Victoria, S.W.1. Sunday, March 23, at 7 p.m. "Flipin Kids" (Population and Poverty). Speaker: H. Young.

INTERNATIONAL CLUB, Bath, Every Tuesday, 7.30 p.m. Royal Literary and Scientific Institute. 18 Queen Square, Bath. All welcome.

WEIGH HOUSE Church, Duke Street, W.1. (Bond St. Tube), Sunday evenings at 7. The Gospel of Peace! Social hour follows.

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LITERATURE, &c.

FOUR GUINEAS for a book review. Particulars from Sheppard Press, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

QUAKERISM Information and Literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Road, London.

SITUATIONS VACANT

The engagement of persons answering these advertisements must be made through a Local Office of the Ministry of Labour or a scheduled Employment Agency IF the applicant is a man aged 18-64 inclusive or a woman aged 18-59 inclusive, UNLESS he or she or the employment is excepted from the provisions of Vacancies Order 1952.

SHORTHAND-TYPIST required for interesting Christian-pacifist work. Write Gen. Sec., Fellowship of Reconciliation, 38 Gordon Square, W.C.1, for interview appointment stating any experience.

VOLUNTARY HELP (typing) wanted by the Peace Pledge Union at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1, to assist with increasing development work due to the appointment of a field worker.

YOUTH HOSTEL assistant warden wanted for Gorad-y-Gyt, Bangor, Caerns, from early April to end Sept. Hard work at times mainly domestic, but interesting enjoyable job. Apply warden.

FOR SALE & WANTED

BAMBOO GARDEN canes, all sizes, any quanity. Handicraft cane, plywood bases, willows, etc. Canecraft instruction books. Prompt despatch. Stamp brings list. Whines and Edgeler, The Bamboo People. Godmanstone, Dorchester.

MATE TEA—genuine. 3s. 3d. 1 lb.; 6s. 3d. 2 lb.; 8s. 3d. 3 lb. Frith, 12 Poulton St, Fleetwood.

MISCELLANEOUS

CANCER RESEARCH (involving vilest animal cruelty). "Gigantic failure," says Robert Bell, MD, (Cancer specialist). Try secure his "Cancer Treatment without Operation." Living testimonial (one of many successes): Lady (Guernsey), 82, still well and active cured forty years ago. Bell opposed meat, white bread, always largely deprived protein, always constipating (constipation conducive Cancer), nowadays often chemically bleached. Study nature cure magazines.

WAR RESISTERS' International welcomes gifts of foreign stamps and undamaged air mail covers. Please send to WRI, Lansbury House, 88 Park Avenue Bush Hill Park, Enfield Middlesex.

WORLD LEAGUE against Vivisection opposes all cruelties in food, dress, amusements and medicine. Copy of "The Animal's Champion," free on request, 42 Aberdeen Rd. London, N.5.

Challenge to the Daily Herald

(Continued from page one)

If it is cruel and inhuman to use bacteria in warfare is it decent and civilised to drop napalm bombs?

We do that, of course, without any protest from the Daily Herald.

Bombs and bacteria

It would indeed be very difficult to prove conclusively that plague or typhus was spread by bacteria dropped from the air or placed deliberately in water wells or left behind with food.

Where we have hundreds of thousands of famished, dirty, hungry refugees it is difficult to diagnose where the germs of typhus come from.

If we deliberately destroy a town by bombing we destroy its drains and its sanitation and this spreads disease.

The British Navy has been engaged in bombing the Korean coast.

The shells may destroy water supplies. That surely results in the spread of disease. Indeed Korea has been reduced by our bombs and bombardment to a howling wilderness.

Surely these are the conditions which any sanitary inspector would certify as exactly those calculated to spread disease.

So if the Daily Herald defends this kind of warfare why does it get so horrified about the bacteria allegation?

Let me make this challenge to the Daily Herald.

Is it in favour of using bacteria in war or not and is it prepared to call for a full investigation into the allegation that bacteriological war is being studied in Britain.

Will it join in demanding that the British public should know how much money has been spent?

To protest against A-bomb

MEMBERS of the pacifist group known as Operation Gandhi are to undertake a protest demonstration with a special reference to the manufacture and testing of Britain's atom bomb, according to a statement issued to the Press last week.

They are having a coach (or coaches) to take them to the atomic plant at Aldermaston (between Reading and Newbury) on April 19, and are inviting all pacifists desirous of going on record against the manufacture of the bomb to join them.

The demonstrators will not be committing an act of civil disobedience, as on the occasion of the War Office demonstration, but intend to use the more normal and accepted methods of protest: poster march; leaflet distribution; open-air speaking, etc.

The cost of the return fare is 5s. 6d.

It is hoped that supporters will arrange leaflet distributions and similar demonstrations on the same day in provincial towns throughout Britain.

Further information may be had from: Operation Gandhi, 79 Lordship Park, N.16.

Manilal Gandhi's 3-weeks fast

(Continued from page one)

meaning of non-violence and to have an unshakeable faith in it to be qualified to make use of it.

I would consider it wrong and a violation of the spirit of non-violence on my part to lead the people to launch a mass struggle unless I am sure of my ground.

Let it not be understood that I am suffering from any fear complex. Far be it from me to fear seeing not one but many Jalianwala Baghs repeated in South Africa. I would nevertheless do everything humanly possible to avoid them. I would refrain from doing anything that might tend to precipitate them.

I feel therefore that a great deal of organising and the teaching of the ethics of non-violence is needed among the African and the non-European people as a whole before they can be led to launch a mass campaign.

Until then those who feel the humiliation must, in my humble opinion, act individually and be prepared to suffer the consequences, thus setting an example to the masses by their action.

Let it be clearly understood that the strength of non-violence lies in its quality, not in its quantity.

We should avoid taking any step that we might possibly have to retrace.

Our faith must be in the righteousness of our cause and in God and our slogan must be no other than "Glory to God."

All other slogans, which serve no other purpose than to arouse the emotions of the people and to provoke those against whom our fight is directed, should be scrupulously avoided.

The principle of non-violence is not to arouse emotional feelings but to awaken the hearts both of the people and of those against whom they are fighting, by Truth, Love, and Non-violence and a conduct of life beyond reproach.

I say all this in a spirit of humility. I have no doubt that the leaders concerned must have given thought to all these matters. But I feel it is necessary, when giving consideration to the momentous decisions of the African National Congress, to be frank and outspoken on the views we hold.

After giving the whole question deep consideration I have come to the conclusion that I cannot blindly align myself with a movement unless I am fully convinced that it will be conducted on the right lines in keeping with the creed of non-violence.

My conscience tells me that I must purify my soul before I can make any active contribution and that my immediate contribution should be a fast and prayer for twenty-one days for wise guidance to all, the fast to commence on Friday morning, March 7 and to continue till Friday morning, March 28.

May God help me and help us all.

SPAIN

Public Meeting to Protest Against Political Trials, Executions of Militant Trade Unionists and Suppression of Elementary Freedoms.

To be held at the Large

MEMORIAL HALL

Farringdon Street, (Ludgate Circus), on THURSDAY, 27th MARCH at 7.30 p.m. prompt

SPEAKERS WILL INCLUDE

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NAPALM: THE WEST'S TERROR WEAPON

I am about 90 per cent. with you in sentiment but have never yet discovered how one is to rescue the oppressed without force *much as I'd like to.*
—Letter, Feb. 29, 1952

Mr. Cutworth arrived in Seoul December, 1950. His book ("Korean Reporter") is very good indeed, frank and truthful . . . direct to the point. It is a story of the profound indignity of war . . . There is an account of a Korean who was drenched by the blazing jellied petrol from an American napalm bomb. "His whole body was covered with a hard black crust. He had to stand, he could not sit or lie because he was no longer covered with a skin, but with a crust like crackling which broke easily."—Observer, March 16, 1952

THERE are many people in the world today who have lived through two world wars.

They may have suffered grievous bereavement; they may have endured loss of health, or limbs, or eyesight; they may have gone through the indignity and frustration of long years of imprisonment, or of displacement from their countries and their homes, and yet, faced with the obvious futility of the method of war, they still cannot surmount the last obstacle to pacifism—the fear of being unarmed against oppression.

For centuries there have been in the world "oppressed" peoples, but the history of their release is not the history of freedom gained through victorious war.

The abolition, in this country alone, of the tyrannies of sweated labour, child labour, slave-trading and religious persecution was achieved without war. The escape from the fearful oppression of the working class was won by the non-violent struggle of the Tolpuddle martyrs and their followers, a struggle which has much in common with the Indian non-violent fight for freedom to govern themselves, led by Gandhi.

The Jews have been the victims of persecution for centuries, but in spite of the fact that they have never gone to war, perhaps because of it, their race has not been destroyed and has persisted through thousands of years of oppression.

*

The truth is that wars have seldom, if ever, been fought on behalf of the oppressed. The last war was not fought to save the Jews or to liberate the Germans from the domination of Hitler; if that had been its object then it should have started in 1933, when Hitler deprived the Jews of their homes and their possessions and drove them out of Germany.

But the British Government sent no ultimatum; on the contrary, they continued to supply Hitler with arms and raw materials and refused the Jews entry into this country unless philanthropic individuals accepted them into their own homes and guaranteed their maintenance. After the war started Hitler ceased to "export" the Jews and massacred them instead. It would therefore seem that in this case war only made matters worse for the oppressed, not better.

*

If, however, modern war is to be the answer to oppression then those who advocate it must face what it means to use that method in pursuit of an object which, naturally, must be considered as essential to any civilisation. If it is believed that it is possible to rescue the oppressed by going to war does that mean toleration of its methods?

Does it mean that during the process the oppressed and the oppressors, the guilty and the innocent, are to be blasted with atom bombs and slowly roasted alive inside a skin of liquid fire?

Is this the method that is to be set against Hitler's gas chambers and Stalin's Siberian labour camps? Is this really the only choice?

It is absolutely vital that these questions should be faced and honestly answered. If war, with all its tortures and its evils, were the only answer to oppression then it could be argued that Jesus should have yielded to the devil's tempting and tried to lead his enslaved race in a war for freedom from the Roman tyrant. He decided otherwise; and if the Church, which was founded upon His teaching, had not been afraid to follow where He led the world today might be at peace.

The truth is that the tyranny and oppression of war is as evil as any tyranny the world has known, and if the human race is to be saved then it must break out of the vicious circle of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth."

There cannot be a choice only of evils; there must always be, however difficult, the choice of good. The world awaits the challenge of those who will be brave enough to make that choice.

Without fear and without anger, in faith and with fortitude, let us take the risk, if it is a risk, of a positive refusal to use the evil means of war.

This is the first step to the goal of freedom for the oppressed, and peace for the world.

(Sybil Morrison will return to this subject in her column next week.)

Is bombing the way to make a nation see justice?

— CO asks Tribunal

(Continued from page one)

Philip Salt, a civil servant, of London, S.W.3, said, "As a member of the International Salvation Army I recognise the ultimate sovereignty not of the State in which I live but of God as revealed through Jesus Christ.

"I cannot conceive any circumstances in which I should be loving my enemies by killing them, or assisting others to kill them."

He was granted exemption.

"Does not make sense"

Among National Servicemen heard at a previous tribunal, Michael Randle, of Reigate, an agricultural worker, submitted a nine-page statement arguing the case against war, the purpose of which, he said, was to impose one's will on the will of the enemy, to "make him see sense."

"Can it be seriously suggested," he asked, "that people are made to see sense by being hit on the head?

"Does not the bombing of a nation's women and children seem a curiously ineffective way of making it desire justice?"

Referring to the American civil war (often cited by the Tribunal as an example of a righteous war, on the grounds that it was fought to free the slaves), Randle said that, in fact, President Lincoln offered to allow the South to retain its slaves, provided it united with the North. Moreover, he said, the slaves were not released, but merely transferred from one type of slavery to another—to economic serfdom.

Michael Randle was told that he could continue his work on the land, or do hospital or building work, or food distribution.

Knew he was right

Ivan Mighall, a tractor driver, of Staines, made only a very short written statement, in which he declared, "I am completely sincere and genuine in my belief that I was not put on this earth to harm my fellow-men."

His father sent a letter saying that he was a country boy, who had never had the opportunity to study, but "it is sincerity and action that counts. He devotes all his time to animals, and doing good turns to people."

The Tribunal put many questions to Mighall as to why he thought it was wrong to fight, but he could only say that his inner self told him that he could not go to war.

Finally the Chairman said that they could not grant him any exemption, as he had not established the grounds of his objection to military service.

Michael Real, of West Ewell, Surrey, who said that he was studying pottery with a view to taking up private production on a small scale, asked for unconditional exemption.

He was closely questioned about a paragraph in his statement in which he referred to human rights and dignities which, he said, were violated by conscription. Why, asked Judge Hargreaves, if he cared so much for human rights and dignities, was he not prepared to fight in defence of people who might be deprived of them by an invader?

Real replied that he would do everything in his power to stop such acts at any time, but not by violence.

"I was shaken"—priest

After telling the tribunal that he had recently become a Catholic, Real said that he believed the whole idea of conscription especially for the fighting forces, was contrary to Christ's life and teaching.

He did not think that the conditions of a just war in which Christians could take part, as laid down by St. Thomas Aquinas, could ever be fulfilled today.

Mr. Swales asked the applicant about his reasons for claiming unconditional exemption.

"Don't you think that if you get exemption from the forces you ought to do your part by producing food?" he enquired.

"I think I am best serving the community by doing the job for which I am trained," replied Real.

Mr. Swales pointed out that even farmers were called up for the army, at which Real commented, "If you are going to direct farmers into the army, and other people into farm work, it seems to me with all due respect . . ."

Real produced letters from several friends, warmly testifying to his character and sincerity, and called as witness Father Patrick Rourke, SJ, who said that though not himself a pacifist, the applicant had shaken him very much at times, against his fundamental convictions.

Finally the Chairman said that they were not prepared to grant Michael Real unconditional exemption, but he was given exemption on the usual conditions.

Political objector's protest

By W. Esma Burrough

TWENTY-TWO Reservists appeared before the Midland Tribunal in Birmingham on March 12, and in 12 cases their names were recommended for retention on the CO register.

Two applicants were told by the chairman, Mr. G. L. Dawson, that only religious objections were recognised by Parliament.

One of them, Peter Shuttlewood of Leicester, submitted that this was incorrect. His objection, based on humanitarian grounds, was allowed.

Of six other applicants who had non-religious bases all were rejected except Frederick Sidney Green, of Birmingham, who, in coming to a realisation of the futility of war, had been influenced by his great sufferings as a PoW in Japanese hands.

The chairman seemed perturbed at the number of applicants—no less than 10—who had served in his own regiment, the Royal Artillery!

Other successful candidates were Douglas Gilbert, of Rushden, Northants, a member of PPU and APF, and Frank Squires, of Nottingham, who had given up his career as a professional footballer on becoming a Christadelphian.

Peace workers wanted

NEXT Thursday (March 27) Peace News will be despatching 2,000 extra single copies to pacifists in America.

We hope to gain many new readers from the effort, and need some help with the wrapping of PN.

Anyone able to assist will be welcomed at 3 Blackstock Road (near Finsbury Park Underground Station) from 9.30 a.m. onwards, or on the previous evening from 6 to 10 p.m.

A PACIFIST PLAY

Katharine Macdonald, DPSc, has written a full-length pacifist play and invites any who would be interested in its production to communicate with her at 6 Lansdowne Crescent, Kelvinbridge, Glasgow, N.W.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

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